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Milligan Key

# SPEECH OF MR. BOND, OF OHIO,

UPON

## THE RESOLUTION TO CORRECT ABUSES IN THE PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, AND TO SEPARATE THE GOVERNMENT FROM THE PRESS.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, April, 1838.

Mr. BOND said he rejoiced that the attention of the House and of the country was again invited to the subject of retrenchment and reform. He was aware that these terms had become somewhat hackneyed, and he almost feared that their frequent repetition here had rendered them trite and unmeaning. They had been used, as was well known, with great effect, to put down one Administration and elevate another. That end being attained, they seemed to have performed their office, so far at least as the party now in power are concerned. All must admit that we have had no practical retrenchment or reform.

Mr. B. said he wished gentlemen now in power to admit that they had amused, if not deceived, the People of this country with a mere "fancy sketch." If they would not make this concession, then he called upon them to specify any retrenchment or reform which they had accomplished. But, sir, if they fail in this, as I think they must, then I demand their reasons for not carrying out their great and salutary system of reform, for which they stood solemnly pledged before the country.

I am unwilling to believe that the terms retrenchment and reform have lost their just and virtuous sense. The People of this country will determine whether the necessity for such measures had passed away with the simple elevation of certain men to power.

You, Mr. Speaker, must be well aware that something more than this was promised. You professed, sir, I mean the party with which you act professed, to be moved by the purest and most sacred regard for the welfare of the People. We find recorded here, and in the Senate, a solemn pledge to carry into effect a systematic reform, if you should be placed in power. This was done, sir, in March, 1829, and you have held undisturbed possession ever since. During that time, now going on ten years, what part of your pledge has been redeemed?

I desire to conduct this discussion fairly, and with entire accuracy as to facts. I wish so to state them, too, that all may form a just opinion in relation to the sincerity and good faith of those whose conduct may be brought under review.

Was it really true, sir, that the expenditures of the Government were unnecessarily large? Had the President too much power, and was there a necessity for restraining it? Was the patronage of the Government so enormous as to require checks to be placed on it? Was this patronage used for political ends, especially the patronage of the press? Was it true that the freedom of the press and the security of our liberty demanded that the printing patronage should be withdrawn from the several Departments, and the State Department in particular?

All these inquiries are suggested by the declarations and avowals of the present dominant party when they sought for elevation. But lest gentlemen may have forgotten the precise charges made against Mr. Adams's Administration, I beg leave to read from certain documents of this House and of the Senate, in which these griefs and complaints, with the promised reforms, are duly recorded.

The first, in point of time, is a report made to the Senate in 1826, by a select committee, (of which Mr. Benton was chairman,) "to which was referred a proposition to inquire into the expediency of reducing the patronage of the Executive Government of the United States." In this document Mr. Benton reports:

"That, after mature deliberation, the committee are of opinion that it is expedient to diminish or to regulate by law the Executive patronage of the Federal Government, whenever the

same can be done consistently with the provisions of the Constitution, and without impairing the proper efficiency of the Government. Acting under this conviction, they have reviewed as carefully as time and other engagements would permit them to do, the degree and amount of patronage now exercised by the President, and have arrived at the conclusion that the same *may and ought* to be diminished by law."

For this purpose that committee then reported six bills; one of them proposed to regulate the publication of the laws and of public advertisements; another had this imposing title—"a bill to *secure in office* the faithful collectors and disbursers of the revenue, and to displace defaulters." But, besides its alluring title, that bill also contained the following provision:

"That in all nominations made by the President to the Senate to fill vacancies occasioned by the exercise of the President's power to remove from office, the fact of the removal shall be stated to the Senate at the same time the nomination is made, with a statement of the reasons for which such officer may have been removed."

The other four bills also looked to the restraint or reduction of the President's power and patronage. It is unnecessary now to read them. The report proceeds:

"The committee do not doubt but that there are many other branches of Executive, patronage, in addition to those which are comprehended in the provisions of these bills, which might be advantageously regulated by law. Far from thinking that they have exhausted the subject, they believe that they have only opened it, and that nothing more can be done *at this time than to lay the foundation of a system, to be followed up and completed hereafter.*"

Mr. BOND said that, notwithstanding a series of years had elapsed, and Mr. Benton and his friends had full power, the People had looked in vain for a superstructure on this "foundation of a system" of reform, which this famous report proposed to have laid. That same committee, too, assert and claim for the Senate "the control over appointments to office," and say they "believe that they will be acting in the spirit of the Constitution in laboring to multiply the guards and to strengthen the barriers against the possible abuse of power." This is necessary, they say, where laws "are executed by civil and military officers, by armies and navies, by courts of justice, and by the collection and disbursement of revenue, with all its train of salaries, jobs, and contracts; and where, in this aspect of the reality, we behold the working of patronage, and discover the reason why so many stand ready, in any country and in all ages, to flock to the standard of power, wheresoever and by whomsoever it may be raised." The number of office holders is spoken of as large and still rapidly increasing, and the report proceeds: "Each person employed will have a circle of greater or less diameter, of which he is the centre and soul—a circle composed of friends and relations, and of individuals employed by himself on public or on private account." By way of illustrating the great number of office-holders and their combined power, Mr. Benton then turns to the "Blue Book of the Republic," which he also calls "a growing little volume," and says it "corresponds with the Red Book of monarchies."

Mr. Speaker, this Blue Book is indeed a "growing little volume," but it has grown more rapidly in the nine years of this Government, administered under the advice of Mr. Benton and his friends, than it did in double that time, before they came into power. I present now, sir, for your inspection, the Blue Book for 1828, and that for the last year, 1837. It is plain that the last is nearly or quite double the size of the former; and if the contents of the



two are compared, the number of office holders, their salaries and compensation, the various divisions and subdivisions of every Department, it will be seen that, under this boasted system of retrenchment and reform, nothing has been curtailed, but, on the contrary a great increase in the number of office holders, with increased salaries. To this, too, is to be added a most alarming addition in all the public expenditures of the country, greatly exceeding in amount the expenses of that Administration which was charged as wasteful! And if this state of things is not checked in time, we may yet realize that this Blue Book not only "corresponds with," but has actually become, the "Red Book of a Monarchy," in this our boasted republic!

Mr. Benton, in his report, exhibits a list, taken from the Blue Book of 1825, of all the officers, with their salaries, at the Custom-house in the city of New York. The number thus given is one hundred and seventy-four, and the aggregate amount of their compensation is stated \$119,620-39. He then exclaims—

"A formidable list, indeed!—formidable in numbers, and still more so from the vast amount of money in their hands. The action of such a body of men, supposing them to be animated by one spirit, must be tremendous in an election; and that they will be so animated is a proposition too plain to need demonstration. Power over a man's support has always been held and admitted to be power over his will. The President has 'power' over the 'support' of all these officers, and they again have power over the support of debtor merchants to the amount of ten millions of dollars per annum, and over the daily support of an immense number of individuals, professional, mechanical, and day-laboring, to whom they can and will extend or deny a valuable private as well as public patronage, according to the part they shall act in State as well as in Federal elections."

And to all this, the report still adds the Naval and Military Establishment, the Judiciary, the Post Office, and presses, with what it calls the "unknown and unknowable list of jobbers and contractors; and the still more inscrutable list of expectants who are waiting for 'dead men's shoes, and willing in the mean while to do any thing that the living men wish.'" Having thus glowingly described the state of patronage, and the subservient league and unprincipled devotion of the office-holders, Mr. Benton then says:

"The power of patronage unless checked by the vigorous interposition of Congress, must go on increasing, until Federal influence in many parts of this Confederation will predominate in elections as completely as British influence predominates in the elections of Scotland and Ireland, in rotten borough towns, and in the great naval stations of Portsmouth and Plymouth."

We are also told by Mr. Benton that "the whole of this great power will centre in the President," and the report then warns the country in these impressive terms:

"The King of England is the 'fountain of honor;' the President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of Federal appointments, jobs, and contracts; he has 'power' over the 'support' of the individuals who administer the system. He makes and unmakes them. He chuses from the circle of his friends and supporters, and may dismiss them, and, upon all the principles of human action, will dismiss them, as often as they disappoint his expectations. His spirit will animate their actions in all the elections to State and Federal offices. There may be exceptions, but the truth of a general rule is proved by the exception. The intended check and control of the Senate, *without new constitutional or statutory provisions, will cease to operate. Patronage will penetrate this body, subdue its capacity of resistance, chain it to the car of power, and enable the President to rule as easily and much more securely with than without the nominal check of the Senate!*" "We must look forward to the time when the nomination of the President can carry any man through the Senate, and his recommendation can carry any measure through the two Houses of Congress; when the principle of public action will be open and avowed—the President wants my vote, and I want his patronage; I will vote as he wishes, and he will give me the office I wish for. What will this be but the Government of one man? and what is the Government of one man but a monarchy?"

Mr. BOND said he hoped the House would pardon him for reading from this report these passages, which so happily illustrate the growth and power of patronage. They were referred to for the purpose of sustaining the allega-

tion which he had made, that the present dominant party professed to entertain serious fears for the perpetuity or security of our institutions and liberty, if this public patronage was not checked or restrained by some statutory remedies, which they submitted for consideration, and promised to adopt, at some convenient season, if placed in power. Well, sir, they succeeded, and got the administration of our Government into their own hands: and what has the country realized? Why, the number of custom-house officers at New York has grown from 174 to 414! and their compensation is increased from \$119,062 39 to \$409,669 32! But, besides their stated compensation, it appears that in the year 1836 the various subordinate officers of the New York custom-house were allowed among them upwards of \$53,000! And the Collector at Philadelphia, during the same year, received, beyond his salary, upwards of \$3,000; the same officer in Boston upwards of \$2,300; and many others very considerable sums, which I will not take time to specify.

We thus realize the inordinate and dangerous increase in this branch of patronage, foretold by the report. What has been done to limit and restrain this patronage? Where is the *statutory remedy*, the *bill* which was reported for that purpose? Sir, it has had quiet repose, and has never been heard of since the success of "the party." The moment power was obtained, the admission made in the report, that the Senate had control over appointments is denied in practice; and the right asserted by the committee, to call on the President for his reasons in case of a removal from office, is now scoffed at and contemned by Mr. Benton, Mr. Van Buren, and the whole party who made or approved that report! Mr. Van Buren was one of the committee by whom that report was made; and yet he and his party openly violate and disregard every principle it urged! He now holds the "power" over the "support" of these trained bands of office-holders at New York and throughout the country. "He makes and un-makes them;" and "his spirit will animate their actions in all elections." Almost the first notice we have of the appointment of Jesse Hoyt to the Collector's office in New York is the annunciation of his official presence and activity in the charter election of that city. We hear of him by day and by night, heading his cohort of 414 office-holders, with the 1,000 expectants, and leading them to the charge! Mr. Van Buren told us, in the report, that "the action of such a body of men, supposing them to be animated by one spirit, must be tremendous in an election;" and that they would be so animated, he said, was "a proposition too plain to need demonstration." But I suppose, he wishes us to believe that in his hands all this power and patronage will be harmless! The case of the New York Collector furnishes my answer to this: and, if another illustration is needed, I refer you, Mr. Speaker, to the appointment of Mr. Wolf to the Collector's office in Philadelphia. That gentleman, you know, sir, after holding the honorable place of Governor of Pennsylvania, proudly called the Keystone State, was seduced here for a paltry clerkship. We heard recently, that he was dissatisfied in the contrast between the place given him and that provided for his political rival, (Mr. Muhlenberg.) Governor Wolf, it was said, had resolved to withdraw, and gave some indication of hostility to the President. At this juncture the power of patronage is invoked—the Collector at Philadelphia is made to take the clerkship at Washington, and Governor Wolf's opposition is quieted in the Collector's office, thus vacated. In an instant a new allegiance is sworn, and Governor Wolf initiates himself in his new office, by heading a call for a political meeting in the city of his official duties! Who does not see the peculiar fitness of the suggestion before quoted from the report of Mr. Van Buren and others of the Select Committee—"The President wants my vote, and I want his patronage; I will vote as he wishes, and he will give me the office I wish for."

Mr. Speaker, I will now add a remark or two, and pass from this report. The committee who made it consisted of Mr. Benton, Mr. Macon, Mr. Van Buren, Mr. White, Mr. Findlay, Mr. Dickerson, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Hayne,



and Mr. Richard M. Johnson, all at the time the zealous friends of General Jackson, except, perhaps, Mr. Holmes. They urged the impropriety of appointing members of Congress to office and the expediency of providing against it. From the moment they came into power their report and professions are forgotten, and in four years they appoint more members of Congress to office than had been done in all the previous history of the Government. They also told the country, in that report, that the press, the post office, the armed force, and the appointing power, were the most dangerous portions of the Federal Executive patronage. And they professed to have found a remedy for these dangers in certain bills which they submitted. They there tell us, too, that all this power is in the hands of the President, and that *he is not in the hands of the People*. Indeed, they say, "the President may, and, in the current of human affairs, *will be against the People*," and the conclusion of the whole is, "the safety of the People is the 'supreme law,' and to ensure that safety these arbiters of human fate (the press, the post office, the armed force, and the appointing power) must change position, and take post on the side of the People." Mr. Speaker, we have found it true, indeed, that the President is not in the hands of the People, and that he will even turn against them! Look, sir, at Mr. Van Buren's December message, and see the opprobrium which he casts upon the People of his own State for daring to exercise their elective franchise contrary to his will! Notwithstanding his professions, and the pledged faith of his report, he violently retains the control of these "arbiters of human fate," and will not suffer them "to change position and take post on the side of the People!"

Mr. BOND said he would next point the attention of gentlemen to what had passed in this House on the subject of retrenchment and reform; and he regretted to find such marvellous discrepancy between the "sayings and doings" of "the party," on that subject. The journals of the House show that in February, 1828, a select committee was appointed to consider and report on this whole matter: the gentlemen appointed were Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Ingham, Mr. Rives, Mr. Wickliffe, Mr. Cambreleng, Mr. Sergeant, and Mr. Everett, all friends of General Jackson, save the two last. They were charged to inquire into the whole machinery of the Government, with a view to reduce its expenses and patronage, and to correct all abuses. They engaged in and devoted themselves to this task; their report, I mean the report of the four avowed reformers, professed to the country that the public expenditures at home and abroad were unnecessarily great; that every thing was done on too grand a scale; that each department had too many clerks and spent too much money; that this was also the case in Congress, whose sessions were needlessly prolonged; and, by way of correcting this latter evil, they recommended that "the compensation of members, during the first session of each Congress, be reduced to \$2 per day, from and after the first Monday in April, if Congress should sit beyond that day."

Mr. BOND said he would not read the report to the House, but he hoped this notice of it might aid in recalling it to public recollection, whereby it would be seen how much had been proposed and how little had been done. Here, too, it will be found, that in concert with their co-laborers in the Senate, the House reformers describe most graphically the extent and power of patronage, and for all their discovered abuses they suggest remedies. But, Mr. Speaker, great as this work was represented to be, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CAMBRELENG) and his friends told the country in this report that they had made only a beginning, what in hunters' phrase is called a mere "priming." They then inform us that nothing more in the way of reform could be done by them, until the People should drive from the citadel of power those who then held it, and place it under the control of these zealous reformers. This was done. This specious report, like its twin-sister of the Senate, was trumpeted aloud by its friends, and at public expense, under the order of the House, many thousand copies of it were scattered throughout the country. The

People read, and, honestly believing it, took the alarm, and placed these reformers in power.

And now, Mr. Speaker, after your undisturbed possession for nine years, what has been done? Have you reduced any expenditure, corrected any abuse, or provided any restraint on the power of patronage? No, sir, no. But, on the contrary, your party in power have made all public expenditures greater than before; you have practised the very abuses of power of which you complained, and have not provided any restraint on Executive patronage! We have thus a practical illustration of the abuse of the identical power of which your friends, when sounding the alarm, gave only a theoretic description.

Mr. B. said the resolution now under consideration still looked to reform, and especially to the correction of the abuse of power in regard to the public printing. The gentleman who offers it, (Mr. HOPKINS,) though acting with the Administration generally, is not blind to the abuses which may be committed. He is still demanding reform from principle, and is not satisfied that abuses have been corrected by a simple change of men. I am surprised, Mr. Speaker, to find this resolution opposed by the Administration. The gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. CUSHMAN) resists it on most extraordinary grounds. He admits abuses, but says it is impracticable to correct them, and therefore useless to pass the resolution. Is it possible that such an objection can be openly avowed and sustained here? The gentleman says it is the usage of party to dispose of this patronage in its own way, and that he never heard of any complaint against Mr. Adams's Administration for so doing. Here, sir, is another open avowal of the doctrine, "that the spoils belong to the victors."

[Mr. CUSHMAN here explained, and observed he had not said the spoils belong to the victors.]

Mr. BOND admitted that the gentleman had not used those identical words, but this was the doctrine of the party with which he acted, and a distinguished member of that party, now the Governor of New York, (Mr. Marcy,) had, when a member of the Senate of the United States, openly used those terms, and justified this usage of party. The friends of the Administration uniformly practised under this precept, whatever may be their theory. I do not wish to do the gentleman from New Hampshire any injustice, and will read from his remarks as published, and he will then have an opportunity of correcting them, if erroneously printed. The gentleman is reported as having said:

"It was well known, that since the establishment of the Government the dominant party, whichever it might be, had invariably employed what has been called, if you please, partisan printers and partisan editors. *But why should they not do so?* So long as the Opposition had the predominancy, they used to supply their own partisan printers, and no complaint was made about it: *and why should any complaint arise now?* He saw no reason for it."

Here, then, I think, sir, a position is taken and terms used in effect the same, and tending directly to the doctrine that the "spoils belong to the victors." But can it be possible that the gentleman thinks he is correct and sustained by the facts, when he says that no complaint was made against Mr. Adams's Administration on account of the exercise of the printing patronage? Has he forgotten that Isaac Hill, the present Governor of his own State, was the editor and publisher of a newspaper called "the New Hampshire Patriot," and that the discontinuance of the publication of the laws in that paper was considered so outrageous a persecution for opinion's sake, that it may almost be said to have given him his subsequent political elevation and consequence? The discontinuance of Isaac Hill as printer of the laws was occasioned, too, by his publishing a libel on the lady of the President, without the least semblance of truth, and so grossly indecent that Mr. Randolph, though a zealous opposer of Mr. Adams, said it ought not even to be read on this floor. The occasion, however, was seized, to bring the subject of public printing under discussion in this House, and Mr. Saunders, of North Carolina, introduced a resolution calling upon the Secretary of State to report what changes had been made in the newspapers printing the laws, to-



gether with his reasons for such changes. A long and spirited debate followed; and as gentlemen seem to have such imperfect recollection of the events of that day, some little reference may perhaps be usefully made to what was said in that debate. It will be observed that the resolution of Mr. Saunders, and those who supported it, required reasons to be given for a removal from office. Since they came into power, however, that doctrine has been denied and repudiated.

Mr. BOND said he proposed to prove by this debate that the present Administration came into power declaring that the printing patronage of the Government was inordinate and dangerous; that it ought to be restrained and regulated by law; and, in fine, promising, if elevated, to withdraw its exercise from the Executive hands. The mover of that resolution (Mr. Saunders) said:

"I trust I shall not be accused of getting up this call for purposes of effect, nor be told this is a small business." "He was not to be told that the pecuniary amount involved in this matter was too small to influence the editors of this country." "The total sum thus distributed could not amount to less than between twenty and thirty thousand dollars." "There were eighty-two papers employed in publishing the laws;" "it was not of the expense that he complained, but of the purpose by which it was controlled." "It was thus calculated to operate, and did actually operate, so far as it went, to control the freedom of the press, and to enlist, throughout the country, that powerful instrument in behalf of the views of the State Department. In this respect, it was much more effectual and much more dangerous than the far-famed alien and sedition laws."

Mr. Saunders concluded by saying that it was his "intention to take this power from the State Department, and place it elsewhere." A member from Tennessee, (Mr. Houston,) afterwards Governor of that State, and now the President of Texas, sustained Mr. Saunders's resolution, and denied the right of the Secretary of State to change the publication of the laws for opinion's sake. He alleged that the practice of that Department "had been to allow an individual, who might be personally opposed to the views and opinions of the Head of the Department, if he was honest and capable as a public officer, to retain his place." He asked "if changes had been made in order that the patronage of the Government may flow in a particular channel? Such a course would gag the free expression of opinion." He said:

"Patronage is not a thing local and circumscribed. It seeks every little ramification into which it can by any possibility insinuate itself. It is like the progress of a cancer in the human body; it seizes on every vein and artery, one after another, nor stops its progress till the sufferer sinks, and then the knife is too late applied."

Next came Mr. Hamilton, of South Carolina, the chairman of that retrenchment committee to which I have already alluded. That gentleman said:

"These eighty-two presses would be put on the diet of a wholesome regimen, and in the course of a salutary discipline. The sturdy and independent would be turned out to be fed on such offals as they might be able to pick up, until the whole pack should open in full and harmonious cry, in one common note, from the sturdy mastiff that howls at the door of the Treasury, to the most starveling turnspit that barks on the farthest verge of our frontier."

Mr. BOND said he would not stop to inquire whether we did now realize, in the present official organ, the Globe, "that sturdy mastiff that howls at the door of the Treasury." Mr. Hamilton continued:

"Is it necessary that the Executive should have a Government press, to be paid for by the People out of the public coffers, to sustain the measures of the Administration, whether right or wrong?" "If," said he, "a Secretary of State can so apply the patronage of the Government as to nourish to venal accord eighty-two presses in our country to praise every thing the Administration should do, and subject their proprietors to the punishment of the loss of this patronage if they dare to censure its measures, this forms distinctly a Government press, which is more alarming to the liberties of the People than the organization of the whole of Gen. Brown's army of six thousand men, formed into a guard of the palace. If eighty-two

presses can be made to speak as it were in one voice that all that the Government does is excellent, and all those who are opposed to them say is false and factious, this constant combined and concerted language will soon have a tendency to make those who hear little else believe all this is true."

Mr. BOND hoped the House would pardon him for this long extract. Mr. Hamilton, from whose speech it is taken, was at the time a friend of Gen. Jackson, and zealously engaged in elevating him to power. In thus describing the Government patronage over the press, that gentleman said he was merely warning the country of dangers which might be realized, if no restraint was imposed on that patronage. General Jackson was elevated, and Mr. Van Buren succeeded him, and is now in power. Instead of eighty-two presses thus employed by the Government, they have now considerably upwards of one hundred, and the patronage is held and exercised without any manner of check or restraint. In this, surely, the country was disappointed.

But you, also, Mr. Speaker, took part in that debate, and warned the country of the danger of this patronage, and the necessity of restraining it. I hope, sir, it will not be out of order to draw on your remarks, in aid of my present purpose. The sentiments which you expressed are perfectly just, and must command the approbation of all impartial minds.

I have preferred, sir, sustaining the resolution now under consideration by the arguments and illustrations of the friends of General Jackson, rather than to attempt any new suggestions.

You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that some friend of Mr. Clay, the then Secretary of State, intimated that the resolution of Mr. Saunders savored somewhat of the Spanish inquisition. At this your indignation was aroused, and you exclaimed:

"Inquisitorial, sir! And has the time arrived in this country when it is deemed inquisitorial respectfully to ask a public officer, who is responsible to the People whose representatives we are, for the public reasons (not the private motives) of his public conduct? Is it insulting to demand of a public officer to explain and account for his conduct? Is the transatlantic doctrine, that 'the King can do no wrong,' to be introduced here? Though we have no alien and sedition laws, are we to have what is tantamount to them? Are the public functionaries of the Government to be wrapped up in the robes of office, and to be held irresponsible to the People or the People's representatives? And are all those who have firmness and independence enough fearlessly to inquire into the conduct of public men, and the manner in which the public money is expended, to be denounced by the partisans and servile adherents of the house that now reigns, as factious oppositionists? Sir, (you continued, Mr. Speaker,) this power of appointing the public printer is improperly lodged where it is. It is, to say the least of it, subject to abuse, and may be improperly used for the purpose of muzzling and influencing the liberty of the press."

That being the case, you proposed, sir, "to remove this power of appointment from the Department of State, and vest it somewhere else, where it would be more safely and properly exercised." The country is aware, Mr. Speaker, that you have continued to be a member of this House ever since you made the remarks just quoted, now more than eleven years. Some expectation was cherished that you would, when in a majority here, practise under these opinions, and remove this printing patronage "from the Department of State, and vest it somewhere else, where it would be more safely and properly exercised." I am sorry, sir, that this public expectation has been disappointed. I can only account for it by supposing that your various political engagements and high public station have withdrawn your attention from this important subject. There is some consolation, however, in knowing that you have now an opportunity of redeeming your pledge, and the friends of retrenchment and reform indulge the hope that you will do it.

I hope you, sir, will not think this an "inquisitorial" measure. It is, indeed, true that when the representatives of the People, during the last session of Congress, attempted to look into the departments of the Government,



Gen. Jackson openly resisted it, and said such a measure was "worse than the Spanish inquisition." More, sir; he, in effect, gave orders that it should not be tolerated. Mr. Speaker, did not your cheek then mantle with honest indignation? and if you had held a seat here, instead of the chair you occupy, would you not have again exclaimed, "Is the transatlantic doctrine, that 'the King can do no wrong,' to be introduced here?" Or were you constrained to admit that, under the boasted system of reform, "the public functionaries of the Government" are now "wrapped up in the robes of office," and "held irresponsible to the People or the People's representatives?"

Mr. B. said he hoped he had, by this time, furnished some evidence to the House, and to the gentleman from New Hampshire, (Mr. CUSHMAN,) in particular, that the exercise of this printing patronage by Mr. Adams's Administration, was not only questioned, but openly condemned. The friends of Gen. Jackson, so far from pretending that it was impracticable to correct the abuse of this power, pledged themselves to the country, that they could and would, when in a majority, provide a remedy. He would submit it to the People to say, whether this had been done. Was it not notorious that the extent of this printing patronage had been greatly enlarged under the present dominant party? Is not the number of newspapers in which the laws are printed very considerably increased? Is not the ordinary printing patronage of the several departments far greater now than formerly? And, as to the public printing for Congress, it had so swollen, under the promised retrenchment, that we were almost induced to believe that the term was used in irony by those from whom the People expected economy.

I now propose, Mr. Speaker, to show what seductive influences this patronage over the press carries with it; and, for this purpose, I must again invoke the aid of the Jackson reformers, using their own arguments, and the very language in which they admonished the country of the base uses which would be made of this power. I hope gentlemen will remember the remarks made on this subject, and which I have already given to the House, from the speech of Mr. Hamilton, the chairman of the Committee on Reform. I reserved for the present branch of the argument a peculiarly striking and descriptive passage in the speech of Mr. Houston, before alluded to. He undertakes to describe an honest, independent editor, of good principles, and deserved influence, and then adds, that such an editor as this

"May not be disposed to bow or bend his principles for the sake of supporting a particular Administration or individual. It may be necessary to certain plans and interests, that such a man as this should be gagged or prostrated. In that case, a very politic course would be to start a new paper some few months before new patronage is to be conferred; to use every exertion to obtain for it a sufficient number of subscribers; to take measures that, at all hazards, the paper be sustained; then to get for the editor some true and trusty fellow—a fellow that will 'go the whole;' who is troubled with no principles on any subject, but who will support a certain interest 'through thick and thin;' who will pursue no course of his own, but will ever be ready to take his cue from a certain quarter. After getting him some one or two hundred subscribers, and using every expedient to make him some character, he must then have the printing of the laws, as a token of the confidence of the Government, and then all will be ready for action. Sir, I will not say that such a press is to be established and paid for out of the contingent fund; I am not warranted in such an assertion; but I say that such a new beginner must have patronage, although it be in direct opposition to the interest and wishes of the People."

Thus spoke Mr. Houston in 1827. Let us now pause for a moment, Mr. Speaker, and inquire whether those who know so well the use and abuse of this power, have not proved themselves skilful adepts in its practical application. Let us direct our attention to the official newspaper, The Globe, and see if Mr. Houston has not most aptly described "its rise, progress, and present state."

We know, sir, that at the commencement of Gen. Jackson's Administration, the official newspaper was the Uni-

ted States Telegraph, published by Duff Green. Things went on pretty smoothly for a while, and until, as was said, some jealous rivalry sprung up between the then Vice President of the United States and the present President, Mr. Van Buren, who was then Secretary of State. It was said Green was suspected for cherishing a stronger partiality for the Vice President than for the Secretary of State. But I do not profess to be familiar with the causes of this family jar. Report said that the Telegraph was not discontinued abruptly, as the official organ, but was gradually supplanted by the Globe, and its editor, Francis P. Blair, brought here for that purpose from Kentucky. Among the means resorted to for this purpose, as complained of by the Telegraph, were orders or requests to various Postmasters throughout the country to furnish lists of its subscribers. The Globe was then sent to them, claiming to have the special confidence of the party. In this way it was initiated into favor among the subscribers of the Telegraph, and in due season the latter paper was wholly abjured. I have no knowledge of all the measures taken "that at all hazards the paper be sustained," and will leave it for others who know Francis P. Blair better than I do, to determine whether the Administration, in furnishing an editor for the Globe, succeeded in getting a "true and trusty fellow, a fellow that will 'go the whole,' who is troubled with no principles on any subject, but who will support a certain interest 'through thick and thin.'" This I know, that the Administration fostered and cherished the Globe with an immense amount of patronage, and in that way gave it strength and influence. That paper was first published in 1831. The whole amount paid for printing by the Executive Departments in 1832 and 1833 was \$113,346 21, of which \$47,245 42 were paid to the Globe, and the residue to various other printing establishments, editors, and publishers throughout the United States. In 1834 and 1835, the whole amount so paid was \$83,966 50; of which sum, a part, say \$40,473 16, was paid to the Globe, and the residue again divided as before. For the next two years, ending with September, 1837, the several Executive departments paid out, for printing, the enormous sum of \$142,804 68! Of this, the Globe received \$24,331 27, and the balance was divided and subdivided—the spoil being thus given in due proportions among the whole pack, from "the sturdy mastiff that howls at the door of the Treasury," down "to the most starveling turnspit that barks on the farthest verge of our frontier."

But it will be observed that, so far, I have stated the amount of the *Executive* patronage of the press only. In December, 1835, the Globe obtained the printing for the House of Representatives, and for the two years ending on the 30th September, 1837, its editors or publishers were paid, on that account, \$105,914 53!! It thus appears that, for the last six years, the Globe newspaper has received from the Government, as the published documents prove, nearly \$220,000. What it has received indirectly, and from office-holders and expectants, no one can tell. I will not designate each of the innumerable host of editors and printers on whom this patronage has been showered. Many of them have received small sums; others, again, do not quite equal the Globe editors; but I will name a few who seem to be among the preferred, and then leave it for their readers to say whether their papers can be supposed to be under the wholesome regimen of Treasury diet.

I find that Hill & Barton, of New Hampshire, have received, in about six years, between 7,000 and \$8,000. During the same time, Shadrach Penn, jr. of Kentucky, has been paid about \$10,000, nearly the half of which has been paid within the last two years. During the same time, the firms of True & Green, Chas. G. Green, and Beals & Green, of Boston, have been paid \$27,204 76! In the course of two years, Medary & Manypenny were paid \$2,958 66; Paine & Clark \$2,837 53; Mifflin & Parry, of Philadelphia, \$1,822 26; Medary, Reynolds, & Medary \$1,584; and Samuel Medary & Brothers, all of Ohio, \$2,002. All these payments were made by the Post Office Department; and, in addition to this printing patronage, some of these parties enjoyed advantageous contracts in the same



Department, for the supply of "paper and twine," connected with their printing of blanks. These contracts for "blanks, paper, and twine," when examined, as they were by the committees of investigation, disclosed the practice of most reprehensible partiality in the Postmaster General for certain political favorites. I have not examined to see if the other Departments did not simultaneously bestow a part of their printing patronage on these same individuals. This further fact, however, is disclosed by the printing accounts of these Departments: that, for some time past, they have thrown large portions of their patronage into the hands of Langtree & O'Sullivan, of this city, who are publishing a periodical journal, the "*Democratic Review*," which professes to be a literary work, but, at the same time, devotes its columns to the cause and defence of the Administration, with a zeal equalled only by the *Globe*, and, in at least one of its articles recently published, shows as little regard for justice and truth, I think, as that paper does.

The Executive patronage of the press was one of the great chapters of reform into which the famous retrenchment report of this House was divided. It is there stated as an alarming fact, that the amount paid for printing and advertising "by the Executive Departments at the seat of Government for the [then] three last years, (1825, 1826, and 1827,) and by the General Post Office, in two years, was \$71,830 51." In the same report, we are also told that the printing for Congress, the Senate and House included, from March, 1819, to December, 1827, being a period of eight years, amounted to \$271,883 37. These were thought to be extravagant expenditures, and retrenchment demanded and promised.

I beg the House to indulge me a few moments in holding up to their view, and especially to the gentleman from New York, (Mr. CAMBRELENG,) who was an active member of that committee, a mirror, in which the practical reform may be seen. If the gentleman, or the party, shall find the object a hideous one, I can only say the picture reflected is the work of their own hands.

For the six years ending on 30th September, 1837, the several Executive Departments, inclusive of the General Post Office, paid out \$340,116 37 for their printing. In order to get three years, so as to compare it with the term and amount before stated by the committee, let us take half of the \$340,116 37, say

Deduct the amount stated by the committee,	-	-	-	-	71,830 51
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Amount of increase every three years by the Reformers,	-	-	-	-	\$98,227 67
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I also find that, in six years ending on the 30th day of September, 1837, the printing for Congress, (Senate and House,) and inclusive of certain land documents, books, and engraving, amounted to \$751,584 62. Let us deduct the amount reported by the committee as paid for the same object in *eight* years by the Administration which was condemned for its extravagance—that was \$271,883 37. That operation will show that the *Reformers* have paid, in the legislative patronage of the press, \$479,701 25 more in six years than the *Whig* party paid in *eight* years!!

Having thus shown the amount of, and how this patronage is now used by the Executive, it will be appropriate to see what the friends of Gen. Jackson said would be the consequence of such use. The committee, in their report, speak of the moral mechanism upon which this patronage acts "as a power that seems irresistible," and say they "will not stop to argue what they predicate as an undeniable fact, that, by the employment of the expenditures of the contingent funds of the departments, a Government press is to all intents and purposes effectually established, as much so as if there were an annual item in the appropriation bill for the purpose of purchasing the joint and harmonious action of one hundred papers in the uncompromising vindication of those in power, and in the unsparing abuse of those who are not." And in the debate already referred to, Mr. Hamilton, one of the reformers, in speaking of payment for the services of the press, observed: "When the Government becomes the paymaster for

these services, the evil is infinitely augmented. For, what are the services which the press under such circumstances is expected to render as a return for the partial kindness of the Government? Why, to cover all their approaches to arbitrary power; to defend each measure of misrule and corruption; to find excuses and apologies for every act of imbecility, although the interest and honor of the country may be jeopardized by ignorance, apathy, or neglect; but, above all, to subject those who do not think 'the existing powers' entitled to the confidence of the People to the most unsparing calumny and abuse." Mr. BOND said he would appeal to the House and to the country if we are not now experiencing daily the practical application of what Mr. Hamilton mentioned as a possible state of things. Is not his description of a subsidized press in the hands of the Government so graphically true of the present Administration and its press that it might justly be conjectured that they sat for the picture? Every day's experience shows that all who oppose the present Administration are "subjected to the most unsparing calumny and abuse." Another of the Jackson reformers in this House, Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, observed in debate here, that "the Executive influence in this Government was very great, and had been exerted to calumniate members in this House as well as great and wise men out of the House." He said "it had been attempted to cut them off by dark innuendoes," and that "hireling scribblers had been paid directly or indirectly for performing the task."

Mr. Speaker, have we not felt and seen the sad reality of all this for the last nine years, but more particularly since Mr. Van Buren undertook "the improvement of the press," and a display of its licentious power in the hired columns of the *Globe*? Who has not been disgusted with the course and "unsparing calumny" from day to day poured out upon members of Congress, and of the Senate in particular, who happened to think that "the existing powers were not entitled to the confidence of the People?" Who has not seen the attempt in the Government press to break down the influence and power of "members of Congress," and "to cut them off by hireling scribblers, paid directly or indirectly for performing the task?" Does not the *Globe* constantly charge Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, Mr. Southard, and other Senators as being paid by and under the influence of the Bank of the United States when engaged in the discharge of their high constitutional duties? And when these foul slanders are howled from the throat of the "sturdy mastiff," at the door of the Treasury, do not the whole kennel, "Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart, little dogs and all," even to the "most starveling turnspit" that barks on the farthest verge of our frontier, re-echo the sound? The Jackson reformer, Mr. Floyd, spoke of the slanders on members of Congress and on other men elsewhere. Why, sir, we daily experience that and more. The President and his press have gone on from time to time calumniating members of Congress and others, individually, and at length have got to slandering the People in a body—a kind of wholesale slander business. If a Congressional district, in the free exercise of its constitutional right, elect a member who will not "bow and do obeisance to the party," he is at once proclaimed to be the feed attorney of the bank, and the people of the district are stigmatized as "reprieved debtors."

Here, sir, I desire to read a short paragraph from the President's official newspaper—the *Globe*. It was printed a year since, and then met my eye. I have preserved it for the express purpose of noticing it here, on a suitable occasion; and this is the first appropriate moment I have had to do so. The paragraph in question was written on the occasion of announcing the election of one of the present Senators from Ohio, (Mr. ALLEN;) in doing which, the *Globe* exults at what it was pleased to consider a defeat of Mr. EWING, a highly distinguished and most valuable member of the Senate. I do not propose to dwell on that election; it is foreign to my purpose; but I do verily believe it was achieved against the wishes of a majority of the people of Ohio, and recent events sustain that opin-



ion. And yet, this man, whom the people of Ohio delighted, and, if the signs of the times do not deceive, will again "delight to honor," is, at the moment of his retiring from the Senate to the bosom of his family, and to all the private relations of life, held up and stigmatized in the *Globe* as a "bank beneficiary." In the same article, sir, some fifteen Senators are opprobriously named and contemned by this Government press. The State of Alabama is particularly congratulated on being relieved from the "*Calhounery*" of Gabriel Moore. But now a new light has suddenly opened which wholly changes the medium through which the *Globe* sees "*Calhounery*," to use Mr. Blair's own phrase. How long has it been since that paper stigmatized Mr. Calhoun "as the bank's feed instrument," and said of him "that no man ever nullified the truth with so little remorse?" Now, however, the whole scene is changed, and Mr. Calhoun is almost deified by the very Government press which but yesterday had so reviled him! Here, Mr. Speaker, we realize another truth spread before the country in Mr. Benton's report, which, in describing the power of the President over individuals administering the Government, says: "He makes and unmakes them." A short time since, this Administration and its press stood forth the advocates and friends of the State banks, and, after placing the public money in their custody, urged them to lend it out. Having thus "debauched" and seduced them from the "even tenor of their way," this same Administration and press now abuse the banks and the credit system which but yesterday they applauded; and, to justify this abuse, falsehood is substituted for fact. The *Globe* a day or two since stated "that the Legislative examination in Ohio" proved "that the directors of the banks there had drawn out more than the whole amount of their real capital." This, sir, is another daring and impudent falsehood of that paper, and furnishes additional evidence of the desperation of this Administration and its "Government press," in carrying out the sub-Treasury system, with all its selfish purposes. The result of the "Legislative examination of the banks in Ohio" is fully reported by the Auditor of the State, who is a thorough-going disciple of the sub-Treasury school. His report is now before me, and I invite its immediate inspection. It is most creditable to the banks of Ohio; shows them to have been prudently managed, and that they will not suffer in comparison with those of any State in the Union. But let us look into the Auditor's report, and test the truth of the fact stated by the *Globe*, "that the directors of the banks in Ohio had drawn out more than the amount of their real capital." By the Auditor's report, it appears that the amount of capital stock actually paid in these banks in December last was \$11,331,618 96, and the whole amount loaned to directors and stockholders together, at that time, was only \$1,466,174 56. I leave it for others to apply the proper rebuke to the *Globe* for its slander of the banks and the people of Ohio; but, Mr. Speaker, I appeal to you and to this House if a press which is thus basely conducted should be sustained and cherished by funds from the public Treasury?

This same paper took occasion, not long since, to quote from some remarks which I had the honor to make in this House, and to say it had never intimated that the Senate was a useless body. Why, sir, the gross calumny heaped by the *Globe* on the majority of the Senate, but a short time since, must be familiar to all. I will not offend so far as to read those slanders to the House. The official organ, by its personal abuse of the Senators, and repeated calumny of the body, did more than give the intimation alluded to. Did not the *Globe* say of the Senate that "its dignity" was "impaired"—"its character for grave consideration gone"—that "its justice" was "doubted," and its power to harm by its most marked censure "contemned and derided?" Yes, sir, this was the language held by the President's official press towards the American Senate, and yet that same press now has the effrontery to deny that it ever intimated that the Senate was a useless body.

But, Mr. Speaker, in pursuing the individual slanders of the *Globe*, I have digressed a little from my promise to show that the Government press also does a "wholesale

slander business," and throws its poisoned shafts at masses of men—yes, sir, at the great body of the People themselves. I beg leave now to read that part of the article from the Government press which I before alluded to, announcing the result of the Senatorial election then recently held in Ohio. Referring to the district which I have the honor to represent in this body, the President's official organ says:

"The bank held immense power in his [my] district, and exerted its moneyed influence in aid of the Federal party, which has stronger hold in that quarter than in any other part of Ohio. It succeeded by a small majority in electing Mr. Bond the collector of its bonds there. He may be looked upon as the representative of *reprieved debtors*."

After the vile slanders which the Government press has wantonly heaped upon many of the most eminent and justly distinguished public men of the country, Mr. B. said an humble individual like himself should not complain, but rather feel honored that he was thus noticed. For himself, personally, he would say nothing; but for his district—his constituents—for the People, who had honored him with their confidence, and made him their representative here, he had much to say. He could not, perhaps, express all the just indignation that he felt. My constituents, sir, (said Mr. BOND,) in every trait of character which can justly ennoble man, are not second to those of any member in this House. With God's mercy, and their own right arm, they have been the builders of their own fortunes. In every sense, they are virtuous, intelligent, and independent freemen—"who know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain them." They love their country, and revere its Constitution; but they have never yet "bowed the knee to Baal;" and because they will not, the editor of this vile press, bloated and swollen with Government patronage, stigmatizes them as "*reprieved debtors*." Mr. Speaker, should this "hired scribbler," Francis P. Blair, ever venture into that district, I do not believe that the People, whom he has thus basely slandered, would consent to defile their hands by touching him; but they would cast upon him a scornful and withering look of honest and just indignation, which would give to his visage a more cadaverous aspect than it even now has. But who is this man who thus impudently arrays himself against the People? Why, sir, he is himself a "*reprieved debtor*" of the very bank which he is every day reviling. Do gentlemen require proof? The files of this House furnish it. A paper reported or filed by one of the committees of this House shows that this same Francis P. Blair, who was brought here from Frankfort, in the State of Kentucky, owed the Bank of the United States the sum of \$20,744 36. It is true that only a part of this sum was his own debt; nevertheless, on his own account, and as security for others, he was debtor to that bank, on the 30th day of November, 1830, for the whole amount of the sum which I have mentioned. Did he pay it? No, sir. Does he yet owe it? No, sir. How was he discharged? He compromised, if the terms on which he was released are justly entitled to be called a compromise. What were those terms? Why he held a clerk's fee bill, amounting to \$37 42, and a note on a gentleman by the name of Gratz for \$200, say, together, \$237 42, which he gave up to the bank, and was released from \$20,744 36! Now, sir, I think Francis P. Blair may justly be called a "*reprieved debtor*."

Such a settlement proves that Blair was utterly insolvent at the close of the year 1830. If his insolvency was occasioned by misfortune, he should be pitied rather than condemned on that account. Of the circumstances of his failure I am ignorant. I refer to his insolvency for what I esteem a perfectly just purpose in this debate. We find him brought to Washington in 1831, and employed as the publisher or editor of the *Globe*, which is made the Government press. We soon see streams of patronage flowing in upon him from all the Executive Departments. The extent and character of this patronage I have before alluded to. In a brief space of time we see him living and entertaining expensively, and going all the rounds of the court society at Washington. If Mr. Blair had no con-



nexion with this Government patronage, he might do all this, and no man would be justified in alluding to or commenting on it. It is the high prerogative of every freeman to do with his own as he pleases. But, Mr. Speaker, the sudden change in the fortunes of Mr. Blair, connected as he is with Executive patronage, his single leap from insolvency to wealth, impel me to inquire if "there is not something rotten in Denmark?" Upon the whole, sir, I think his case most strongly illustrates the necessity of passing the resolution now under consideration, and, if possible, making a total separation of the newspaper press from the Government.

At all events, if this shall be found impracticable, we can at least destroy the pet system of exclusive favoritism, by inviting competition, and giving the contract "to the lowest bidder," as the reforming report of the gentleman from New York (Mr. CAMBRELENG) and his friends induced the People to believe would be done. When the retrenchment resolutions, which produced the famous report already mentioned, were under consideration, the friends of the then Administration denied the existence of any abuse, but invited investigation, and the resolutions passed almost unanimously. Now, however, when the reformers are in power, and an investigation is proposed, they admit the existence of the evils referred to in the resolution, but resist the inquiry, because, as they allege, the abuse cannot be corrected!

The gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. CUSHMAN) may deem this end impracticable. I do not. I would rather follow the example of the gallant Col. Miller, (of the gentleman's own State,) who, when ordered on a perilous service on the Niagara frontier, during the war of 1812, did not say it was impracticable, but said "I'll try, sir," to the commanding General. He did *try*, and he succeeded. The achievement not only rendered essential service at that crisis, but honored his country's arms, and elevated his own fame!

In the attempt which the resolution under consideration proposes, no danger awaits us, but a great civil triumph may be obtained by it. I invite the gentleman from New Hampshire to adopt the words of his gallant statesman, and, instead of thinking it "impracticable," let him say "I'll try."

But, sir, we have been greatly disappointed in the failure of this promised reform in many other respects besides that which regarded the public printing and the Executive patronage of the press. And, to establish this, I will state briefly a few items, contrasting the *precept* with the *practice* of the reformers. Imitating the example found in the report already alluded to, I may be best understood by a division of the subject into a few prominent heads. But, in the language of that report, I am "far from thinking I shall now exhaust the subject;" I shall "have only opened it." I pretend to nothing more "at this time than to lay the foundation of a system, to be followed up and completed hereafter" by the *People*.

The prolonged sessions of Congress formed a conspicuous chapter in the book of reform. The committee denounced the usage as "one of the most serious evils attending the national legislation of the country;" and, by way of correcting it, recommended "that the compensation of the members, during the first session of each Congress, be reduced to two dollars per day from and after the first Monday in April, if Congress should sit beyond that time. This was the *precept*; now for the *practice*. The sessions of Congress, so far from being shortened, have been prolonged, no remedy applied, and the People of the country ought to know that the gentleman from New York, (Mr. CAMBRELENG,) so early as March, 1830, when an attempt was made to carry into effect the remedy proposed in the report of the committee of which he was a member, by reducing the pay of members, did himself actually resist and vote against the measure.

The report alleged that abuses had "taken place from the various and arbitrary manner in which members estimated their mileage." This abuse was ascertained to have been practised by the reformers themselves; and they have

continued the practice without any restraint. I will give you, sir, an illustration, which may not be thought inappropriate. In the days of promised reform, the two Senators from the State of Missouri differed in politics; one of them, the great reformer, Mr. Benton; the other, Mr. Barton, who thought the promised reform was a mere humbug. The first session of the twentieth Congress commenced the 3d of December, 1827, and ended on the 26th of May, 1828. These gentlemen severally attended the whole session; their per diem allowance was \$1,400 each, being 175 days, at \$8 per day; but for mileage, reckoning \$8 for every twenty miles, Mr. Barton charged \$939 20, whilst Mr. Benton charged \$1,344 66. Mr. Barton charged his mileage by the great mail route, over land; but Mr. Benton, who was railing out and condemning all abuses, counted his miles by all the crooks and turns and tortuous windings of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers! Mr. Barton was left at home because he did not believe in the propriety of professing one thing and practising another; and Mr. Benton was retained to correct abuses and carry out the great principles of his report on Executive patronage. Ten years have intervened since the session of Congress just referred to; the report sleeps unheeded, and, in the mean time, Mr. Benton continues to count his miles every year by the way of the river, which has given him upwards of \$4,000 more than Mr. Barton felt authorized to charge under the same law.

*Another precept.*—The committee reported that "the privilege of newspapers to the members ought to be abrogated;" and "that the practice too often indulged in by the House of voting to themselves copies of books," ought to be discontinued. The privilege and practice continue, and without restraint.

*Precept.*—The contingent expenses of this House were reported to be extravagant. During the year 1828, the last of Mr. Adams's Administration, they amounted to \$80,000.

*Practice.*—During the year 1836, the last year of the Jackson reform Administration, this item was \$200,000! And, during the year 1837, being the first year of the "successor," who promised to "tread in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor," these expenses are \$210,000! This must be the "magician's way" of working in the rule of reduction—it was certainly unknown to old Thomas Dilworth.

*Precept.*—The committee, of which, I again repeat, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CAMBRELENG) was a member, reported that they had obtained information by which they were satisfied "that by a judicious system of reform, instituted by the Executive officers themselves, at least one-third of the (then) present number of clerks in the departments might be reduced with safety to the public interest."

*Practice.*—The number of clerks has not been reduced in any one of the departments, but, on the contrary, there has been a considerable increase. I will prove it. The State Department, in the year 1828, included the Patent Office, and the whole number of clerks was sixteen: the salary and compensation of the Secretary and all his clerks and messengers, amounted to \$27,750.

The whole number of clerks now employed in the State Department and the Patent Office is forty. The joint salaries and compensation amount to \$56,515!!!

The Patent Office, in 1828, was managed by a Superintendent, with a salary of \$1,500, and two clerks and a messenger, whose joint compensation was \$3,700. It is now under the charge of one of the Reformers; the title of "Superintendent" is exchanged for that of "Commissioner;" and with the change of titles comes the change of salary from \$1,500 to \$3,000! The number of clerks is increased from two to twenty-four, and the compensation from \$1,800 to \$21,000; and, not content with one messenger, and his old salary of \$400, they provide a salary of \$840 for messenger, and then give him an assistant, to whom is also paid \$15 per month.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in the year 1828, employed eight clerks and two messengers. His salary, and



the compensation of the clerks and messengers, amounted to \$18,600.

The present Secretary of that Department (and he was taken from the body of reformers, who made proclamation from the Senate Chamber) employs fifteen clerks and two messengers. His salary, and their compensation, amount to \$27,100!! A similar result will be found in comparing the present with the former state of the several subdivisions of the Treasury Department. But, by way of "introducing economy and despatch in the Treasury Department," the committee proposed to "simplify the forms of business, and to reorganize its subordinate branches, so as to dispense with one-fourth, if not one-third, of the officers in the Treasury." Now, sir, no reorganization of the Department has yet been attempted. Instead of reducing, they have increased the number of officers; and the forms of business, under the new mode of simplifying, have become so complicated, that the gentleman from New York, (Mr. CAMBRELENG,) now chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, declared here, during the last special session, that, after fifteen years' experience as a member of this House, he found it difficult to understand these Treasury accounts, and the manner in which the Secretary's Annual Report on the Finances is stated!!

Next, as to the War Department. In 1828, the Secretary of War employed a chief clerk, besides seventeen clerks and two messengers. His salary, and their compensation, amounted to \$28,650. The business of Indian affairs was then managed by him also. In 1838, the Secretary of that Department employs, inclusive of the Indian business, about forty clerks, besides messengers. The joint salaries and compensation of the whole amount to \$63,810.

In 1828, we hear nothing of a Commanding General's Office, with its clerk and messenger.

In 1838, the Commanding General is allowed a clerk at \$1,200, and a messenger at \$600 per year.

In 1828, the Adjutant General's Office employed three clerks, whose joint compensation was \$2,950.

In 1838, the Adjutant General employs seven clerks and a messenger, whose joint compensation is \$8,225.

In 1828, the Paymaster General employed three clerks, whose united compensation was \$3,900.

In 1838, the salary of the same number of clerks is \$4,290, besides the messenger's salary.

In 1828, I have been unable to discover any allowance for clerks to the Quartermaster General.

In 1838, that officer employs in the office at Washington seven clerks, whose united compensation is \$7,300.

In 1828, the Ordnance office employed three clerks, whose joint salary was \$2,950.

In 1838, the Ordnance office employs nine clerks, besides a messenger, and their aggregate compensation is \$9,225.

In 1828, the Subsistence Department employed four clerks, whose joint compensation was \$2,950.

In 1838, the Subsistence Department employs four clerks, and a messenger, whose joint compensation is \$5,880.

In 1828, the Surgeon General was allowed a clerk, at \$1,150 per year.

In 1838, the Surgeon General is allowed a clerk, at \$1,266, and a messenger, at \$600 per year.

In 1828, the business of Indian affairs was discharged at the War Department, by some one or two of the seventeen clerks which I first mentioned.

In 1838, this Indian business appears to constitute a grand division. We now hear of the "Indian Department," with a Commissioner, whose salary is \$3,000, a chief clerk, at \$1,600, and eleven clerks, and two messengers, the joint compensation and salaries being \$19,400.

In 1828, there was one Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who was paid \$1,500 a year, twenty-one Indian agents, twenty-eight sub-agents, and thirty-nine interpreters.

In 1838, we find *four* "superintendents of Indian affairs," with salaries of \$1,500 each per year; *six* "superintendents of emigration," with salaries of \$2,000 each per year; *ten* "Indian agents," with salaries of \$1,500

each per year; *fourteen* "Indian sub-agents," with salaries of \$750 per year; *thirty-three* "commissioners and special agents," who are paid from \$5 to \$8 per day, and from \$1,500 to \$3,000 per year; *fifteen* "conducting and enrolling agents," at \$3, \$4, and \$5 per day; *two* "conductors of exploring parties," at \$3 and \$5 per day; *two* "valuing agents," at \$4 each per day; *eight* "collecting agents," at \$2 50 per day each; *two* "issuing agents," at \$1 per day each; *one* "disbursing agent," at \$5 per day; *sixteen* "assistant agents," at \$3 and \$4 per day, and from \$500 to \$1,200 each per year; *thirty-one* "interpreters at agencies," at \$300 each per year; *fourteen* "interpreters in the emigration of Indians," at \$2 50 and \$3 per day each; *fifteen* "physicians," at salaries varying from \$3, \$5, and \$6 a day, to \$84 per month; *eleven* "clerks," (other than those in the office at Washington,) at salaries varying from \$3 and \$5 per day to \$40 and \$50 per month, and \$800 and \$1,000 per year; *fifty-three* "blacksmiths," with salaries varying from \$240 to \$600 per year; *twenty* "farmers and assistants," at 2, 3, 5 and \$600 per year; *eighteen* "teachers," with various salaries, from \$500 to \$800 per year; *five* "millers," with salaries of \$500 and \$600; *one* "surveyor," at \$8 per day; the whole concluding with *five* "miscellaneous agents," with salaries of \$1 per day, and \$600 per year.

But even this is not all. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs says the list given by him in the Blue Book is not accurate or complete. *He leaves room to add or alter.* Here, indeed, is a display of patronage! Ought we not to be astonished to find this state of things, under an Administration whose friends professed to be shocked at a multiplication of offices, and re-published, in the report of this House in 1828, the warning of that Chief Magistrate, who said: "Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expense to the ultimate term of burden which the citizen can bear, it behooves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge." It is appropriate, too, now, to refer gentlemen to the censure which that report cast on the Secretary of War in 1828, for paying \$753 for additional clerk hire in the business of Indian Affairs.

Mr. B. said he was here tempted to name one or two offices in particular, which seem to have been created for special favorites: one of them under the law authorizing the President to sign land patents by an agent, instead of doing it as heretofore, in person. If he could not find time to do this duty, as Mr. Adams and all his predecessors did, then it would have been better to dispense with the signature altogether, as you have done with that of the Commissioner of the General Land Office. The President's name now is not even written by his proxy, as it should be, but is written by some clerk in the Land Office, and the whole service of the proxy or agent consists in his writing his own name! For this he is paid \$1500 per annum! The place is held by one of the President's sons, and it is an indirect mode of increasing the President's salary. The compensation is too high, under any circumstances. For a service requiring neither skill nor talent, and employing a very small portion of this young gentleman's time, he receives a higher salary than many of the Governors and other high officers in the several States do!

Another office specially created is that of the "Smithsonian agent," with a salary of \$3,000 a year, and furnishing a convenient sojourn for a gentleman wishing to visit London. The duties of this place might well have been discharged by ordinary correspondence, but at all events they are such as could justly be required at the hands of our resident Minister at London. It cannot be overlooked that Richard Rush was Secretary of the Treasury, and received the censure and condemnation of the Retrenchment Committee. And yet Mr. Rush was appointed to the office of the Smithsonian agent. I will leave it for others to apply what the chairman of the Committee on Retrenchment said at that day, in debate on this floor: "Whenever an office is to be filled," "even a zealous, constant, and faithful friend is compelled to yield to a mushroom apostate that may have been purchased but yesterday."



Let us next compare the Navy Department. Mr. Southard, who was Secretary of the Navy in 1828, employed in his Department seven clerks, besides the chief clerk. The salary of the Secretary, and the compensation of the clerks and messengers, amounted to \$17,250. The Department has been held for many years, and is still managed by Mr. Dickerson, who was a member of the committee, in the Senate, from whom came that famous report on Executive patronage, to which I first referred. He employs eight clerks besides the chief clerk; and his salary, with the compensation of his clerks and messengers, amounts to \$18,850. And, at this very session, he demands more clerks, and an increase in the salary of some of those he already has.

The committee censure Mr. Secretary Southard for unnecessary expense in subscription for newspapers for the Department. They specify, under this head, \$624 43 for three years. It now appears that Mr. Secretary Dickerson has expended, for newspapers and fashionable books and literature of the times, in *one* year, near \$700; and, including similar expenses of the Navy Board, near \$950.

The committee also condemn the practice of extra clerk hire. We find Mr. Dickerson not only employing three extra clerks, but, what is far more dangerous, paying extra hire to one of the regular clerks in the Department, enjoying, at the time, a salary of \$1,760, but to whom is paid, "for extra services as clerk," the further sum of \$429 67, making his salary \$2,189 67. Is not this a ready mode of providing for a favorite?

The committee also specify the sum of \$466 86, as paid by the Navy Department, in *three* years, for printing, and condemn it as extravagant.

The Blue Book of 1837 shows the Navy Department, under the reformer, Mr. Dickerson, to have paid \$9,557 22 for printing in *two* years!

The committee also reported that a "considerable sum, varying from 100 to \$200, was annually expended by the Secretary of the Navy in the purchase of books for his office, most of them having no appropriate relation to the naval service of the country, such as reviews, magazines, and other periodical publications, and the fashionable literature of the day." This usage was, of course, to be abolished. Has it been? I beg leave to read a few items from Mr. Secretary Dickerson's contingent expense account for 1837.

2d volume Repertory of Patent Inventions,	-	\$8 00
2d do Southern Literary Messenger,	-	5 00
One-fourth of Audubon's Birds,	"	165 00
Audubon's Birds,	-	55 00
No. 1, Indian Biography,	-	6 00
North American Review,	-	5 00
No. 4, Indian Biography,	-	6 00
One No. of American Scenery,	-	75

\$250 75

Here is a display of the "fashionable literature" in which Mr. Secretary Dickerson indulges himself and his clerks, at the public expense. I wish the gentleman from New York, (Mr. CAMBRELENG,) who aided in concocting the report from which I have just quoted, would inform us "what appropriate relation" the books and reviews just mentioned have "to the naval service?" But, what means the item "one-fourth of Audubon's Birds?" Why, sir, I understand that neither of the four Secretaries being willing "to take the responsibility," "as a unit" they agreed to divide it! The cost to the People is the same; it all comes from the "public coffers." And the mode of doing the thing proves that the Secretaries felt that its expediency and propriety were questionable. I have read somewhere, perhaps in Sterne's works, an incident which most happily illustrates this transaction. As I recollect the story, the Abbess of Andouillet, and Margareta, a novice, made a little journey together, in a vehicle drawn by mules. As the evening approached, they were deserted by their mule-steer, when ascending a hill. The mules presently became stubborn, and stopped. The travellers were greatly alarmed, and, in their dilemma, the novice said that there were two certain words which, she had been told, would force these an-

imals on the moment they heard them; but then the words were sinful. The novice was urged, and she gently whispered the words "bouger" and "fouter." The Abbess, in her distress, turned casuist, and said they were only a venial or slight sin, which might be divided; and by taking half, and leaving the rest, or by taking it all, and amicably halving it betwixt yourself and another person, would become diluted into no sin at all! Therefore, my dear daughter, continued the Abbess, I will say *bou*, and thou shalt say *ger*; and thou shalt say *fou*, and I will say *ter*. Accordingly, the Abbess giving the pitch note on *bou*, Margareta responded *ger*; Margareta continued with *fou*, and the Abbess drawled out *ter*; but still the mules stood. They do not understand us, cried Margareta; but the devil does, said the Abbess. And, I think, Mr. Speaker, that these reforming Secretaries will find that they are understood in their patent mode of reform, and, particularly, that the People will not be gulled into the approval of an unauthorized expenditure by dividing its amount among the Departments.

By this time, I think it is apparent that the duty devolves on the gentleman from New York, (Mr. CAMBRELENG,) not only to account for his voting against the measure in regard to the compensation of members, but also why it is that "a judicious system of reform" has not been instituted by his friends, "the Executive officers themselves," whereby the country might realize what was promised by the gentleman's report—"a reduction of one-third of the number of clerks in the several Departments, with safety to the public interest."

We will now look to the Post Office Department. The General Post Office, as it was then called, had the good fortune not only to escape the censure, but to enlist the praise, of that fault-finding era. I leave it for those who were familiar with the motives and political currents of that day, to account for this. The committee said of it—"The efficiency of this branch of the public service is in a condition highly improved and improving." My first remark on this is, that the Post Office Department passed into the hands of General Jackson in a healthy and efficient state. A few years, under his reform, reduced it to chaos and insolvency. The details of its mismanagement have been long since proved. The evidence is on file here and in the Senate, with the reports of the several committees appointed to investigate its abuses. I refer gentlemen to the files, and will not dwell on the various abuses which were designated and established. Their enormity, coupled with the fact of the borrowing money on public account by the Postmaster General, without law or authority, alarmed the country. But bad as all this was, and used, as the pecuniary patronage had been, to confer personal benefits on favorites, until the disorder and insolvency of the Department became apparent, still the political uses which had been made of the appointing patronage were not disclosed, and now never will be. The present Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, tells us in his account of the late destruction of that Department by fire, that all the books, papers, and files of the Department were saved, except the "files" of the "appointment office," and that these were destroyed!

In the first six years of General Jackson's Administration, about 1300 postmasters were removed from office, and, in most of the cases, without the assignment of any cause. When certain members of the committees of the Senate and House, appointed, in 1833-'4, to investigate the abuses of that Department, attempted to get at the files and correspondence of this "Appointment office," with a view to ascertain and report whether the reasons for these removals were prompted by high and just public considerations, or by mere party political expediency, they were denied the right by the head of the Department and by the friends of the Administration, who composed a majority on one of these committees! Was not this inquiry just? I refer you, sir, to Mr. Benton's famous report and bill providing for the disclosure of reasons in case of removal from office. I refer you, Mr. Speaker, to your own remarks, and to those of your friends, in the debate on



Mr. Saunders's resolution, which I have already quoted. But, above all, I refer you to the remarks of the illustrious Madison, unrivalled as he was in the knowledge of the letter and spirit of our Constitution and laws, and in purity and honesty of purpose. As early as 1789, in the memorable debate on the power of the Executive to remove from office, he not only denied the right to exercise this power capriciously, and without assigning adequate reasons, but he thought it would be such a bold assumption of lawless power, that he thus expressed himself: "I own it is an abuse of power which exceeds my imagination, and of which I can form no rational conception."

But when Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Benton (both of whom were on the committee which reported the bill to prevent the abuse of this patronage of appointment) came into power, they changed their tone, if not their principles. Removals from office immediately followed, and they deny any obligation to assign reasons! Is it not strange, too, nay, is it not mysterious, that, in the conflagration of the Post Office, the only papers and files destroyed should be those relating to the exercise, if not the abuse, of the power of removal from office—the very papers which the Postmaster General refused to suffer the Committees of Investigation to examine?

I said Mr. Van Buren changed his tone on this subject. I will at once prove it. The journal of the Senate shows that he was one of the Select Committee who reported the bill already referred to. He entered the office of Secretary of State with the commencement of General Jackson's Administration. One of his first official acts was the removal of a meritorious clerk from his office in that Department, and a *positive refusal to assign any reason for it!* The gentleman removed is now a Member of this House, (Mr. SLADE, of Vermont,) and the voice of the People has sustained him whom the despotism of Executive patronage sought to destroy.

The manner in which this patronage is abused, and the readiness and almost telegraphic despatch with which the wires of party machinery are felt throughout and from the most distant parts of the Union, may be imagined after reading this laconic note, written by Mr. Van Buren, soon after entering on the duties of Secretary of State, to a gentleman in Louisiana:

"WASHINGTON, APRIL 20, 1829.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 21st ult. and of informing you that the removals and appointments you recommended were made on the day your letter was received.

"With respect, your friend, &c.

"M. VAN BUREN."

And, so far from being willing to reduce the number of clerks in his Department, as the People were induced to believe would be done, Mr. Van Buren, when called on for that purpose, saw the whole affair through a new medium, and replied: "My opinion is, that there can be no reduction in the number of officers employed in the Department, (of State,) without detriment to the public interest!!" And yet the Retrenchment Committee, when Mr. Clay was in that Department, reported "that they felt satisfied that, had the officer at its head concurred with them in the opinion, they might have presented a plan for not only a gradual reduction of the number of clerks, but for an actual increase in the efficiency of their labors."

But other discrepancies between the profession and practice of these reformers remain to be noticed. It will be found that the report of the gentleman from New York, (Mr. CAMBRELENG,) and his friends, condemned "the practice introduced by the Secretaries of the Departments, of sending the reports of their clerks or heads of bureaus, instead of condensing them, and making them substantially their own communication." This practice, if bad, has never been corrected, but is daily indulged in by all the Departments, as the answers to the calls and resolutions of this House abundantly show. But a still more remarkable commentary follows. When the Department of War passed into the hands of John H. Eaton, a zealous reformer, he, too, was called upon to carry out his re-

trenchment system, and reduce the number of his clerks, in fulfilment of the public expectation, which he and others had excited. To the surprise of all, he referred the subject to the *clerks themselves!* and here, sir, is his reply:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, JAN. 27, 1830.

"SIR: I have the honor to lay before you reports from the several bureaus connected with the War Department, on the subject of a resolution of the 5th inst. referred to me by the Committee on Retrenchment. Respectfully,

"J. H. EATON."

"CHARLES A. WICKLIFFE, Esq."

These bureaus, so far from agreeing to part with any of their *escutcheons*, actually asked for an additional supply! Thus ended that farce!

*Another Precept.*—This retrenchment report alleged that our diplomatic relations and foreign intercourse were unnecessarily expensive, and recommended "a fixed appropriation for the contingencies of each mission," "in no case exceeding \$600, (annually,) to cover the expenses of stationery, postage, office, clerk hire, and all other contingencies whatsoever."

Let us see the practice. Andrew Stevenson, our Minister at London, is allowed for these contingencies, including "presents to the menial officers and servants of the Court, and others, on his presentation, and at Christmas," \$2,098 56, in the space of about a year! The like expenses of nearly all our other foreign missions are in correspondent ratio.

*Profession.*—The grade of our Foreign Ministers was to be reduced in some instances, especially that at Madrid, to a *Chargé*, with a salary of \$4,500.

*Practice.*—A Minister Plenipotentiary has been kept at Madrid constantly, and John H. Eaton is now there on a salary of \$9,000, having also received his outfit of the same amount. And during the last session of Congress an attempt was made to *increase* the salaries of all our foreign Ministers!! Who could have anticipated this from an Administration that proclaimed on this floor, (at least one of its most powerful and influential supporters, the late Mr. Randolph, who joined in the cry of retrenchment here proclaimed, and what he said received the full approbation of "the party:")

"So long as members of Congress, and not of this House only or chiefly, will bow, and cringe, and duck, and fawn, and get out of the way at a pinching vote, or lend a helping hand, at a pinching vote, to obtain these places, I never will consent to enlarge the salary attached to them. We are told that they live at St. Petersburg and London, and that living there is very expensive. Well, sir, who sent them there? Were they impressed, sir? Were they taken by a press-gang on Tower-hill, knocked down, hand-cuffed, chucked on board of a tender, and told that they must take the pay and rations which His Majesty was pleased to allow?"

Now I appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, if the moral application of these remarks has not been justly felt "in Congress, and not in this House only or chiefly," under the retrenchment and reform Administration?

*Another precept of the reforming report.*—The committee thought the mode of "appointing and compensating bearers of despatches liable to strong objections, prone to degenerate into a species of favoritism little short of a convenient mode of sending favorites abroad to travel for their pleasure, health, or instruction, out of the public coffers."

*Practice.*—The President and his Secretary of State, both Jackson-reformers, now take a favorite clerk of the State Department, whose salary at the time was at the rate of \$1760 per year, send him as bearer of despatches to Mexico, and, for about three months' service, pay him \$1212 88, and suffer him also to draw his clerk's salary for the period of his absence! For this I refer you to the case of Robt. Greenhow, who is the translating clerk of that Department; all the facts of the case being stated in the reports of the Secretary. He excuses this transaction, by saying that the translations which were required during Mr. Greenhow's absence were made at his expense. It might be well to inquire whether any translations were required



during that period, and why also it would not have been quite as well to discontinue the salary for the time, and let the Government pay for any translations which were needed. But do we not here distinctly realize what the retrenchment report condemned in these words: "that an actual incumbent is considered to have such a sort of property in the office as to enable him to farm out its duties, and to receive a part of its revenues for doing nothing?"

Another illustration of this "convenient mode of sending favorites abroad," "out of the public coffers," is found in the same list of contingent expenses of foreign intercourse. I allude to the case of Mr. Charles Biddle, who, when nominated by Gen. Jackson for a judgeship in Florida, was rejected by the Senate.

After this rejection Mr. Biddle was despatched by the Executive to Central America and New Grenada. What service he rendered we know not; but it appears that for this mission an allowance of \$7,122 95 has been made. Mr. Charles Biddle is the same gentleman who had a controversy with Mr. Senator Grundy, in which the devotion of the latter to Gen. Jackson was questioned. We learn by one of the printed documents, occasioned by that dispute, that the Senator, for the purpose of proving himself to be what is called a "whole hog Jackson-man," said he "had swallowed the hog not only whole, but wrong end foremost, taking the bristles against the grain; and had gone for all Gen. Jackson's *bob-tail* nominations, even to Charles Biddle."

You may remember, Mr. Speaker, that great fault was found with Mr. Clay for an allowance to John H. Pleasants, who was employed as bearer of despatches, and sat out on his voyage, but, being taken ill, was obliged to abandon it, though he caused his despatches to be safely delivered. In the account, which I am now examining, we find the sum of \$1,522 72, paid by Mr. Forsyth, the Secretary of State, to Eleazer Early, sent with despatches for our Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota, but which were never delivered. The sickness of Mr. Pleasants furnished no palliation, in the minds of the reformers, for the payment made to him, though he caused his despatches to be safely delivered. Yet these same gentlemen find ample pretext, in the alleged shipwreck of Mr. Early, to pay him \$311 35 for expenses, \$527 37 for clothing, bedding, and books, lost or abandoned by him, and \$714 for one hundred and nineteen days' compensation, at \$6 per day, though his despatches were never delivered!!

At this same time, too, Mr. Early appears to have been receiving a salary of \$1,500 a year as Librarian of the House of Representatives!! It would seem that Mr. Secretary Forsyth is not a stranger to this "convenient mode of sending favorites abroad, to travel for their pleasure, health, or instruction, out of the public coffers."

I also find that \$2,515 are charged for contingent expenses of William T. Barry, late Minister to Spain. Now, sir, it is well known that Mr. Barry never reached Spain, but died on his way there. He, of course, received the usual salary and outfit; and I am at a loss to know what contingent expenses, incurred by him, could justly be charged to the United States.

There appears, also, to have been paid to John R. Clay, in 1836, \$3,381 41, as "compensation for certain diplomatic services." This gentleman, at that time, held the place of Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, with a salary of \$2,000 a year, and the payment to him of the further sum of \$3,381 41 may be justly questioned.

Other items, indicative of extravagance or favoritism, may be seen in this contingent expense account of foreign missions, but I will not stop to specify them.

It will also be found that, in the days of this "searching operation" and "reform," the standing committees of this House on the expenditures of the several departments attended to their vocation. But, very soon after General Jackson came into power, these committees became so much a matter of mere form that the chairman of one of them declared here, during the last Congress, he had never even thought it worth his while to convene his committee, and he appeared quite surprised, or at all events amused, that any

inquiry was expected to be made in regard to the expenses of these departments!! This state of things forms a strong contrast with the report made here in April, 1828, by Mr. Blair, of Tennessee, chairman of the Committee on Public Accounts and Expenditures in the State Department. He, you know, Mr. Speaker, was a Jackson reformer; like the Select Committee, he found every thing wrong, and promised to correct it. The purchase of books, the employment of a librarian, and many other things, were censured—even the right to purchase a print or likeness of Gen. Washington, to be suspended in the Department, was questioned. How stands the matter now? Why, large sums of money are yearly expended for the library of the State Department, and many books purchased, which are certainly unnecessary.

Besides the purchase of books, periodicals, and newspapers, made for this Department by its disbursing agent at home, there was expended in London, during last year, for similar objects, nearly \$500. A librarian is employed, at a salary of \$1,540, equal to that paid to the librarian of the great public library of Congress. All this too, sir, under the auspices of gentlemen who said that this part of the expenses of that Department was censurable, and ought to be dispensed with, as all the officers of the Government could well avail themselves of the public library at the Capitol. But, Mr. Speaker, the times changed, and Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Forsyth changed with them. The State Department is now laid off into grand divisions. When Mr. Clay had charge of it, the Blue Book exhibited a list of a dozen names, all under the head of clerks. One of these acted as translator for the Department, and his salary was \$1,150; another paid out the funds, and was charged with the contingent expense accounts, and he received \$1,150 a year. How soon is all this simplicity and economy forgotten! The Blue Book of last year divides this Department into a "Diplomatic Bureau," a "Consular Bureau," a "Home Bureau," a "Translator," whose salary is \$1,760, a "Disbursing Agent," whose salary is \$1,595, a "Librarian," whose salary is \$1,540, a "Keeper of the Archives," whose salary is \$1,540, and gives one man \$960 a year for "packing, filing, arranging, and preserving newspapers and printed documents." This is done by that boasted "democratic party" which affects such holy horror at any appearance of what they call "aristocratic grandeur." If the Turk, whose letters are found in Salmagundi, had seen this display of "Bureaus" in the State Department, he would have been better justified in his admiration at "the grand and magnificent scale on which these Americans transact their business." But I have yet to add, that those who questioned the right of the State Department to purchase a print of the immortal Washington have used the money of the People to buy prints of General Jackson, and now of Martin Van Buren, for almost every room in each of the Departments!!

Mr. Speaker, during this "searching operation" and captious fault-finding, every petty expense of the several Departments was looked upon with open censure. I well remember that an item of some few dollars, paid a laborer for destroying the grass which was growing between the bricks of the paved walk leading to the State Department, was held up to public view as a piece of aristocratic extravagance. Now, sir, suppose I were to cite to you many similar and equally (if not more) objectionable charges in the present accounts of these Departments—such as cash paid for clearing the snow off the pavements, so that Mr. Forsyth need not wet his feet; "\$90 a quarter for labor," "\$54 for sundries," "\$16 for work," without stating what labor or work. It might have been for killing grass, or raising vegetables for the Secretary. The term "sundries" may conceal the same things, and the curious might inquire what use was made of the fire-proof paint for which \$78 were paid by the Secretary of State. But the money is well laid out, if it will preserve the edifice! And it is to be regretted that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster General had not made similar purchases in time to save their respective buildings. Penknives and scissors, by the dozen and half dozen, are purchased for the Secretary



of State, who also pays a clerk to go to Baltimore to collect a draft. An item of \$100 paid by the Secretary of the Treasury for the transportation of money; but how much money, or from whence, or where transported, we know not. This last charge is a kind of foretaste of the hard-money sub-Treasury system, by which, instead of transmitting the funds of the Government by means of the cheap, safe, and rapid system of exchange, which prevailed before the banks were "debauched" by Mr. Kendall, the public money is now to be wagoned over the country at great expense and hazard, and always with delay.

The late eminent and virtuous Attorney-General, William Wirt, did not escape the censure of these indefatigable reformers. He had rendered some professional services, in which the United States were interested, but which were not such as his official station charged upon him. For this service an inconsiderable sum was paid to him, but its propriety was questioned. The salary of the Attorney-General was then \$3,500, and he was allowed \$800 for a clerk. How stands the case now? The salary of Mr. Benjamin F. Butler, the present Attorney-General, is \$4,000, and in 1834 he was paid \$4,150 19 for compensation, besides being allowed \$1,300 for a clerk and messenger, and \$500 for the contingent expenses of his office. The same additional allowance and charge, amounting together to \$1,800, is made in 1835. Independent of the increased salary and the enlarged provision for a messenger, whence comes Mr. Butler's right to charge an excess of \$150 19 for compensation, besides \$500 for contingent expenses? In the year 1836 we hear nothing of contingent expenses, but a provision of \$1,407 is made for his clerk and messenger, and for Mr. Butler's compensation that year he received \$4,332, when his salary was only \$4,000. Why was this excess of \$332 paid to him? He appears to have been used as a sort of *Caleb Quotem*. He has been allowed to enjoy the salary of his own office and that of the Secretary of War at one and the same time, being at the rate of \$10,000 per year, pursuing too his profession, and receiving its emoluments. No wonder we see in him "the complying law officer of the crown." When did he ever give an opinion contrary to the wish of the President, if he knew what that was? Let me give an illustration. As the story is told, when the Baltimore railroad was about to be located at its termination in this city, the company consulted Mr. Butler on some point as to this right of way, under their charter. After full deliberation, his professional opinion was obtained in writing. It happened that General Jackson felt some concern about the location of this right of way, and he expressed an opinion on the same point, requiring a termination of the road, which the company did not wish, and which Mr. Butler had advised them they need not adopt. Gen. Jackson was furnished with the opinion of the Attorney-General; but, instead of yielding, he endorsed on it, "Mr. Butler has not examined this case with his usual care; let this paper be referred back to him, with a copy of the charter, for his re-examination." In due time, sir, the Attorney-General agrees with the President, and gives an opinion in conformity with that which Gen. Jackson had expressed! After this, Mr. Speaker, we need not be surprised at the absurd opinion of Mr. Butler, given as a foundation or justification for Gen. Jackson to pocket the bill repealing the Treasury circular, and which had passed both Houses of Congress almost by acclamation. Nor, indeed, should we be astonished at any opinion of his, unless he should have happened to give one different from what he supposed the President wanted.

I wish, now, to make a few comments on the professions and practice of Mr. Amos Kendall, late Fourth Auditor, and now Postmaster General. This gentleman, you know, sir, was an eleventh-hour Jackson man. He, however, was among the first who got office; and immediately after his appointment, a letter of his is published, in which, after holding himself and a few friends up as having been persecuted, he exclaims, "what has Heaven done? So disposed of events, as to make Barry Postmaster General, and myself a more humble Auditor." As to Mr. Barry,

no matter "what events" made him Postmaster General, we know that under his management that department was deranged and rendered insolvent!

But now for this "humble Auditor," or, as from his own question, he is sometimes called, "this Heaven-born" Amos. If history does him justice, it will be found that he desired office under Mr. Clay, which, it not being in the power of the latter to provide, Mr. Kendall espoused the cause of General Jackson.

In this letter of Mr. Kendall, he says:

"I feel bound by my obligations to my country, and by the pledges so often repeated by all the principal men of our party, to promote, with all my talents and industry, the reforms which the People demand. I will prove that our declarations have not been hollow pretences. Besides, I hold the interference of Federal officers with State politics to be improper in principle."

For the reform under this last paragraph, I refer you to Mr. Kendall's letters and toasts sent to various political meetings and dinners throughout the country, for a few years past, on the eve of State elections.

When Mr. Kendall entered upon the duties of his Auditor's office, he caused to be published in the United States Telegraph, the then official organ, a letter, in which he says, "The interest of the country demands that this office shall be filled with *men of business*, and not with *babbling politicians*." Sir, the whole letter was the work of a *babbling* politician, expressly designed for political and demagogue ends, which the writer, in the same breath, said he had quit and left for others! I will read a few passages from it. "In five days I have returned to the post office twenty letters and three pamphlets, enclosed to the Fourth Auditor, and directed to other persons!" How long after this letter was it before Mr. Kendall, for the purpose of building up the Globe newspaper, and the fortune of his friend Francis P. Blair, (another eleventh-hour Jackson man, whom he had brought from his former residence at Frankfort, Kentucky,) sent under his frank to Kentucky, and perhaps elsewhere, the prospectus of this newspaper?

In that same letter Mr. Kendall also says:

"Upon entering this office, on Monday last, one of the first objects which struck my eye was a pile of newspapers on my table. Among them, I counted sixteen different papers, all of which I was told were subscribed for by the Fourth Auditor, and paid for out of the Treasury."

He sent them back, as he then stated, with a note to each; of which the following is a copy:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
FOURTH AUDITOR'S OFFICE, MARCH 24, 1829.

SIR: Not believing that I am authorized to charge the Government with subscriptions to newspapers and other publications, which are not useful to me in the discharge of my official duties; and not perceiving that I can derive any assistance from your journal in settling the accounts of the United States Navy, I have to request that you will discontinue sending it to this office. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

AMOS KENDALL.

Here, Mr. Speaker, is a fine display of the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of office, if not of official insolence. But yesterday he was himself the editor and publisher of a newspaper: he next appears, in his own language, an "humble Auditor." But, sir, does not the letter just read show that he had forgotten his humility, and become puffed up with official consequence!

Why did he not simply tell his brother editors, in brief and respectful language, that he had discontinued the subscription for their paper?

But a further thought is suggested by this letter of Mr. Amos Kendall, and his reason for discontinuing newspaper subscriptions. He is now, sir, Postmaster General. Suppose we look at the statement of the contingent expenses of his office for the last year. Do you think we shall find any subscriptions for newspapers there "paid for out of the Treasury?" Listen to a few items:

Southern Literary Messenger,	-	-	\$10 00
New York Journal of Commerce	-	-	10 00



Alleghany Democrat	-	-	-	14	81
Pennsylvanian	-	-	-	8	00
Indian Biography	-	-	-	6	00
Metropolitan Magazine	-	-	-	8	00
Three copies of the Daily Globe !!!	-	-	-	30	00
Richmond Enquirer	-	-	-	5	00

Sundry others which I will not stop to name: the whole number being twenty or upwards, and the total of subscription within a small fraction of \$200! He was frightened at a pile of 16 newspapers, but he can now take 20 at a dose! Can it be possible that a man, who came into office declaring, like the Pharisee of old, that "he was not like other men," and would even "tithe, mint, and cummin," begins already to "neglect the weightier matters of the law?" What becomes of his inflated promise "to prove" that his "declarations had not been hollow pretences?" Of what value was his declaration, made in his letter before referred to, and in which he says, "Vain I may be, proud I am, that the President has given me an opportunity to aid him in proving that reform is not an empty sound, and is not to apply merely to a change of men?" Why, sir, I quote as a reply to these questions his own words, in another passage of his own letter: "The world well know him at last, and assign him his true rank." "Truth is omnipotent, and public justice certain."

Among Mr. Kendall's reforms may be mentioned his leading agency in the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States. To effect this, he carried on a system of "bribe and cooing" with the State banks, and, in the language of a certain Senator, (Mr. Benton,) "debauched them." "Yes, sir, debauch is the word." I apply it to the Government and banks, though the Senator thought the People had been debauched, and applied it to them. For this work of "debauch," which proved so serious a curse to the country, this agent was employed thirty-two days, and was paid for this service the sum of \$316 11, being about ten dollars a day for a job which has occasioned much of the embarrassment under which the country now labors. He got \$10 a day for doing this injury to the Public—a hard-working laborer finds it difficult to get his dollar a day. But still, Mr. Kendall belongs to the "democratic party," and whilst he received his \$10 a day for that work, he also received the regular salary of his office. This appears to be an established usage of this Administration. The case of the Attorney General is already mentioned. The reports from the Departments show several other cases, though I will now only add that of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who was for a while acting Secretary of War, and during this period drew the salaries of each office, being at the rate of \$9,000 a year.

But, Mr. Speaker, no man better knows all the uses of office than Mr. Kendall. I have read a political tract, written, I think, by Dean Swift, entitled somewhat in this way: "The convenience of a place at Court, or a sure mode of providing garments for a whole family." Mr. Kendall appears to understand the "*modus operandi*" of this matter. The printed list of clerks in his Department exhibits his father-in-law and two nephews, with salaries of \$1,000, \$1,200, and \$1,400; and thus we see a family provision of nearly \$10,000 a year, including his own salary. But Mr. Kendall is not the only officer who thus takes care of his own household. If provision of this kind be evidence of "faith," few of them will be found "infidels." The President's son has an office, which I have already mentioned, of \$1,500 a year. The Secretary of State's son, until very lately, held the place of District Attorney in Alabama. A near relation by marriage of the Secretary of the Treasury has a comfortable annuity of \$1,400 in the Navy Department; another holds the appointment of naval officer in Boston, with a salary of \$3,000 per year, besides being President of the Lafayette Bank of that city; and a third is the Cashier of the Franklin Bank of that city, which became a special pet under the pet bank system. These gentlemen would all make excellent sub-Treasurers!

Mr. BOND said, when the proposition for retrenchment was under consideration here in 1828, the friends of Mr.

Adams, by way of proving that he and they desired ever just economy and reform, pointed to his Message recommending it. How were they answered? Why, sir, Mr. Ingham, who soon afterwards was made Secretary of the Treasury, said it was indeed true that the Message did recommend it, but he wanted to see more practice and less profession in this matter. There were no specified reforms found in the Message; he could only find there one of those formal recommendations, which were as unmeaning, he said, as the words "your humble servant" at the foot of a letter. Mr. Randolph, in the same debate, used this language, on the subject of retrenchment and reform:

"The President did recommend them, in one of those lofty generalities with which all sermons, political or religious, abound; which might be printed in blank, like law process, and filled as occasions might require. But, sir, (said he,) I am for looking at the practices, and not at the precepts of the parson, political or religious."

Mr. BOND said this rule of Mr. Randolph was perfectly just; it was thus shown, too, to be avowed by this Administration, and he was willing to judge them by their own rule, and thought to this they ought not to object. He would leave it to the House and to the People to say whether the "practices" of this Administration "had conformed to their precepts."

Was the recommendation in General Jackson's inaugural address one of those "lofty generalities" just spoken of, and defined by Mr. Randolph? The "Unit Cabinet" must have lost the art of reading, otherwise "reform" was not quite so "legibly inscribed" as the General imagined. That patronage of the Federal Government which was said to be brought into conflict with the freedom of State elections has greatly increased, and is still unrestrained, in the same conflict.

The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. BELL) has for years labored to bring this House to the consideration of a bill to secure the freedom of elections, and thus carry into effect the recommendation of General Jackson's inaugural address. Able as that gentleman is, and untiring as he has been in his efforts, the measure proposed by him has received the frowns instead of the favor of this Administration. He and the venerable Senator from the same State (Mr. White) were the early and devoted friends of General Jackson, and they still desire to carry into practical effect the principles which they, with General Jackson, professed to be governed by. They feel and know the imminent danger which threatens the country, in the increased strength of the patronage of office. They see, and we all see, that the office-holders are "abroad in the land." For a description of this growing phalanx and its powerful incentive to action, I will draw on high authority. A member of the Senate, (Mr. Grundy,) a zealous friend of General Jackson, the evidence of which has been already given in his own words, held this language, when aiming to pull down the old Administration: "When I see (said he) an office-holder interfering in elections, it has occurred to me that he was thinking of his salary, and is, therefore, an unfit adviser of the People."

Mr. Speaker, that which occurred to Mr. Grundy no doubt often occurred to you at the same period. The proposition is a very natural one, and I think that recent events have strengthened rather than impaired its truth. But I beg the further indulgence of the House while I read what another distinguished friend of General Jackson said, when debating the subject of retrenchment and reform on this floor. I allude to Mr. Buchanan, now a Senator from Pennsylvania, and, with his continued and growing devotion to the party, what he said will certainly be considered "orthodox." I find, by that debate, that he said it was well known

"That when a man is once appointed to office, all the selfish passions of his nature are enlisted for the purpose of retaining it. The office-holders (said he) are the *enlisted soldiers* of that Administration by which they are sustained. Their comfortable existence often depends upon the re-election of their patron. Nor does disappointment long rankle in the hearts of the disappointed. Hope is still left to them; and bearing disappoint-



ment with patience they know will present a new claim to office at a future time."

This passage of Mr. Buchanan's speech proves him to have been an observer of men and things, and familiar with the leading principles of human action. He dreaded the consequences of the selfish spirit of the office-holder, and induced the country to believe that Gen. Jackson and his friends would provide a suitable restraint upon it. But I fear, sir, the People will be left to conclude that this gentleman is one of those "political parsons" described by Mr. Randolph, whose "practices" do not correspond with his "precepts." It is certain that, under the favorite Administration of the gentleman and his friends, the office-holders have received new life, instead of a check. But I must yet point out another discrepancy between Mr. Buchanan's profession and practice. In the same debate, he reviewed, with censure, several of the foreign missions, that to Russia included; and particularly condemned any practice allowing a minister to "return after one year's absence." His language is: "If such a practice should prevail, our ministers, in violation of the spirit of the existing law, will receive, by adding the outfit to the salary, \$18,000, instead of \$9,000, for one year's service." "I am," said he, "against the practice." This, Mr. Speaker, was his precept. But, sir, in a brief space of time, after condemning and saying "I am against the practice," we see him take the bounty, and become one of the "enlisted soldiers" whom he had described, and go on a foreign mission to Russia, where, after staying "a twelve-month and a day," he pockets the "\$18,000, instead of \$9,000, for a year's service," and comes home!

This seems to be an appropriate time to compare the precepts and practice of Mr. Randolph, too, who said he "was for looking at the practices, and not the precepts, of the parson, political or religious." In that same debate, Mr. Randolph said he "could not permit any motive connected with the division of the spoil, to mingle with" his exertions. He would not, he said, give up his constituents and the pleasures of his home, "for a clerkship in the War Office, or a foreign mission; or even for a Department of State." He said, "there had been an improvement in the plan of sending ministers abroad, and bringing them back, when they have finished their business; for," said he, "they are now sent abroad on *sleeveless* errands, that they may come back *re-infected*, to pocket their emoluments." Mr. Speaker, the Greeks and Romans both held it to be a highly useful, but exceedingly difficult, matter to know one's self. Modern history, and our own times, add new force to the truth of that position. I do not at all question the perfect sincerity of Mr. Randolph, when he uttered the sentiments; but great as he may have been, and skilful as he professed to be, and, no doubt, was, in the motives of human action, after events proved how little he knew of himself. Sir, we soon found Mr. Randolph giving up his constituents, and leaving all the boasted endearments of his district, for a foreign mission to Russia, where, so far as any public advantage resulted from it, he emphatically went on a "sleeveless errand," and "came back *re-infected*, to pocket his emoluments!" Indeed, this mission to Russia seems to have been specially dedicated by "the party" to short terms of six and twelve months, for the advantage of some of the "enlisted soldiers" described by Mr. Buchanan. In this way, the cost of that mission has been inordinately increased; and it is high time that this drain on the public Treasury for private benefit should be checked.

Mr. BOND said it was not to be disguised that many of the politicians who engaged in the debate and strife of the times to which he had alluded, had been surprised, if not disappointed, by events which soon followed. A singular exchange of position has taken place between two of these gentlemen. When the retrenchment resolution was discussed, a friend of the then Administration, Mr. Pearce, of Rhode Island, took ground, not in terms, but somewhat similar to that now avowed and practised by the dominant party, "that the spoils belong to the victors." Mr. Wickliffe, a Jackson reformer, denied and condemned such

a right. He was appointed a member of the retrenchment and reform committee, and, after Gen. Jackson came into power, Mr. Wickliffe zealously endeavored to carry out the promised reform; but not finding the co-operation he had expected, he abjured "the party." About this time, it happened that the reformers avowed the doctrine "that the spoils belong to the victors," and Mr. Pearce enlisted under their banner.

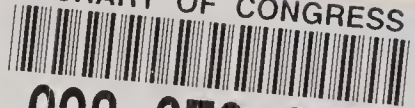
Sir, has not the country been disappointed? Have not the People been deceived and allured by specious and vain promises? Has not the Federal Executive patronage inordinately increased, and is it not still unrestrained? Is not the power over it abused and perverted? Do not the expenses of our General Government far transcend in amount all our past history? Why are these things so, and why has not this "plague been stayed," Mr. Speaker, according to your plighted faith? I will tell you why, sir, but I prefer doing so in the language and illustration of one of your own friends, Mr. Buchanan, of the Senate, to whom I have before referred. In his speech here, to which I have already alluded, and when he was assaulting the (then) Administration, he thus exclaimed: "The very possession of power has a strong, a natural tendency to corrupt the heart. The lust of dominion grows with its possession; and the man who, in humble life, was pure, and innocent, and just, has often been transformed, by the long possession of power, into a monster. In the sacred Book, which contains lessons of wisdom for the politician as well as for the Christian, we find a happy illustration of the corrupting influence of power upon the human heart. When Hazael came to consult Elisha whether his master, the King of Syria, would recover from a dangerous illness, the prophet, looking through the vista of futurity, saw the crimes of which the messenger, who stood before him, would be guilty, and he wept. Hazael asked, 'why weepeth my lord?' The prophet then recounted to him the murders and the cruelties of which he should be guilty towards the children of Israel. Hazael, in the spirit of virtuous indignation, replied: 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' And Elisha answered, 'The Lord hath shown me that thou shalt be King over Syria.' This man afterwards became King by the murder of his master, and was guilty of enormities, the bare recital of which would make us shudder."

How true, and, alas! how applicable is this sacred illustration to those who invoked its use in elevating themselves to power!

Suppose, Mr. Speaker, that some inspired Elisha had been present when you and Mr. Buchanan, with others, engaged in the debate which has been referred to, and, moved by the sympathetic tear of the prophet, you had asked, "Why weepeth my lord?" how would you have been astonished in being then told what the People of this country have since realized!

Imagine, sir, the inspired one looking through the vista of a few brief years and saying, You will be placed in power, but will greatly increase the amount of all public expenditures. You will use the offices and patronage of the country for private and not for public good. You will create offices for favorites. You will enlarge all Executive power. You will deny the right to call for reasons on a removal from office, and in a few years will remove more than 1500 persons from office for opinion's sake! You will derange and corrupt the Post Office Department, which you now admit to be sound, and you will not reform any of your designated abuses in the other Departments. You will appoint more members of Congress to office in four years than has been done in all the past history of the Government. Your bill for the abolition of the power and patronage over the Press will sleep the sleep of death. You will retain "the press, the post office, the armed force, and the appointing power in the hands of the President, and will not suffer them to change position and take post on the side of the People." You now censure a small appropriation to purchase some additional furniture for the President's house, but you will furnish that house in luxurious style for Gen. Jackson, who will be succeeded by





Mr. Van Buren; and he, not content with the second-hand furniture of his predecessor, will cast it off and make his entry into that edifice, with one appropriation of \$7,300 for alterations of the house and superintendence of the grounds, and another appropriation of \$20,000 for new furniture; and this, too, in the very year when your public treasury will be bankrupt. You will increase the expenses of foreign missions and suffer your Ministers to return home on such brief service as will show their appointments to have been made for individual gain rather than public good. You will increase the contingent expenses of this House from \$80,000, the present annual amount, to \$210,000. You will add to the like expenses of the Senate and to all other public expenditures in the same ratio; and the sum total for the whole civil list and ordinary appropriations of the Government, which is now \$12,163,438, will be increased from time to time under your boasted reform, until it shall exceed thirty millions per year!

You now question the right of a Department to purchase a print or likeness of the immortal Washington, but will decorate every room in all the Departments with portraits of Martin Van Buren. You will, by means of the "office holders," the "enlisted soldiers," as you have just called them, bring the patronage of the General Government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and you will resist the bill that shall be brought in to secure the freedom of those elections. You, Mr. Randolph, will go upon what you now call a "sleeveless errand," and, after saluting the Emperor of Russia, will make a pleasant sojourn in "old England," and return to your estate in Virginia. You, Mr. Buchanan, will become "an office-holder and enlisted soldier," go on the very mission to Russia which you are now censuring, and will pocket the \$18,000 for "a twelve-month and a day's" service. You, (to the gentleman from New York,) Mr. CAMBRELENG, will oppose a vote against the very measure which you now report and recommend, for reducing the pay of members, as a means of shortening the session of Congress. You, Mr. Stevenson, will be made Speaker of this House, and appoint its committees, and dispense its rules,

with the promise of a foreign mission in your pocket. You, Mr. Benton, will vote to lay on the table the bill which you now report to take the patronage of the press from the Government, and your report on Executive patronage, with its six accompanying bills so imposingly introduced, will prove to have been but as "sounding brass and tinkling cymbals!" You, Mr. Van Buren, who now, as a member of the committee on Executive patronage, report a bill requiring reasons to be assigned for removing an incumbent from office, will be made Secretary of State, and in due time President, but, from the moment you obtain power, you will forget your bill, and not only violate but refuse to be governed by its principles. You, Mr. Dickerson, also a member of that committee, will be made Secretary of the Navy; but the Department will be so mismanaged under your direction, that it will be truly said of you on the floor of Congress, "there is none so poor as to do him reverence." You, Mr. Woodbury, will take first the Navy and then the Treasury Department, and, under your supervision, an attempt to humbug the People with the promise of an exclusive hard money currency will result in the banishment of all specie, a bankrupt Treasury, and a circulation of shinplasters and Treasury notes.

Imagine, then, Mr. Speaker such a response to have been made at the period of time which I have suggested. What would have been your reply, and what would Mr. Buchanan, who made the scriptural allusion, have said? Methinks I almost see and hear him exclaim, Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?

We are told that, notwithstanding the indignation of Hazael, he reached the throne of Syria by murdering the King his master, and soon committed all the enormities foretold by the prophet!

Sir, I fear that, in despite of the protestations of Amos Kendall, the promised "reform" was "an empty sound," "intended to apply merely to a change of men." But I leave it for this House and for the People of this country to judge whether their confidence has not been betrayed and their hopes disappointed.